

tional treasury. In Ian Fleming's *Goldfinger*, James Bond stops a criminal conspiracy from looting Fort Knox. That was fiction. Under Reagan and Bush, it really happened and there was no James Bond. In his place were David Emory, John Judge, and, for a while, Mae Brussell, howling at the moon.

"During the Great Depression, there were all sorts of Keynesian options that were open to us," says Emory. "They are not open to us anymore. Given the fact that America operates under the law of supply and demand, given an economic crunch, the comfort and perceived well-being of the American middle class is going to depend on their continued access to a sufficient number of goodies to preserve that illusion.

"I think what's going to happen is the number of goodies will be kept accessible by reducing the number of people competing for those goodies. I expect in this country to see large-scale eliminations of population." The extermination option has already been exercised he says, and the American people are blissfully unaware. The general public never questioned the "utterly preposterous" cover story of the Jonestown massacre, for example, despite the fact that many friends and relatives of the dead believed that Jonestown was some kind of government experiment. An aide to gunned-down congressman Leo Ryan found evidence that the CIA was involved. No coverage. No outrage.

"Granted that was down in Guyana, so people aren't going to investigate it, but are people going to investigate it if it's up in the Sierras?" says Emory. "Or how many people will go to Montana?"

"It would in my opinion be very possible to round people up, put them in concentration camps, and gas them without having the public aware of it."

"If other people come up with stuff, it's called history," complains John Judge. "If we come up with it, it's called conspiracy theory. Then the model they tend to



almost all poor. Some were homeless until they found the People's Temple and its prophet/king, clad in shades that made him look like a Secret Service agent. Even Jones's adopted home base, Ukiah, in California's unspoiled north country, suggested paradise on Earth.

The paradise of Jonestown was really hell. Jones abused and degraded his followers. He forced them into slave labor with minimal rations of food. When Congressman Leo Ryan made a trip to Jonestown, investigating allegations of Jones's brutality, he and several reporters were murdered.

One of the most ghoulish horrors in American history followed. On Jones's command, his brainwashed followers killed themselves, more than nine hundred of them, by the particularly gruesome method of drinking cyanide.

Those are the events as recorded by most chroniclers of the Jonestown massacre—the facts as most Americans believe them. As we often find with grisly murders, assassinations, and prominent suicides, there are unanswered, upsetting questions.

On audiotapes of the Jonestown massacre, Jim Jones's voice is audible. At one point, he is heard shouting, "Get Dwyer out of here!" This "Dwyer" was Richard Dwyer. And who was Richard Dwyer? He was a twenty-year veteran of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

After the killing of Congressman Ryan and four others at the airstrip outside Jonestown, an eyewitness saw Dwyer "methodically" washing his hands.

"I've been stripping the dead," Dwyer explained. "It's not a nice job." Then the CIA agent, under cover as an embassy official, produced the wallets and other effects of the five killed there. Dwyer had been shot in the leg during the attack, but he said his wound was "fine." He stayed behind, apparently returning to Jonestown.

When Joseph Holsinger read, one year after the massacre, about the CIA man's presence at Jonestown, he was



"[The] possibility is that Jonestown was a mass mind-control experiment by the CIA as part of its MKULTRA program," Holsinger said in 1980. An essay he'd received in the mail from a U.C. Berkeley psychologist, entitled "The Penal Colony," provided the final piece in the puzzle. "The Berkeley author of the article . . . believes that rather than terminating MKULTRA, the CIA shifted its programs from public institutions to private cult groups, including the People's Temple," Holsinger said.

Joyce Shaw, who spent six years in the temple but broke away before the move to Guyana, wondered if the mass suicide story was a cover for "some kind of horrible government experiments, or some sort of sick, racist thing . . . a plan like the Germans to exterminate blacks." Soon after Shaw quit the temple, her husband was killed in a strange railroad accident. Her father-in-law happened to be a friend of Leo Ryan, and that's how Ryan's investigation began.

There are eerie footnotes to the Jonestown conspiracy theory. They suggest that the conspiracy did not end with the slaughter in Guyana.

Far from a relic of 1960s' utopian naivete, Jones was for six years a Republican. He raised money for Richard Nixon. He was a Republican when he announced himself the reincarnation of both Jesus and Lenin, and led anti-war protests. His rightist ties extended to one of his closest advisers—a mercenary for UNITA, the CIA-supported Angolan rebel army.

In the early 1960s, Jones spent eleven months in Brazil, where, according to his next-door neighbor at the time, he "lived like a rich man." Why he was in Brazil—who knows? According to that same neighbor, "Some people here believed he was an agent for the American CIA."

The temple's lawyer was Mark Lane, who always seems to be around when events take a strange turn. Lane first became famous as the author of *Rush to Judgement*, a best-seller that spurred early doubts about the Warren



Commission. He has since represented several unusual clients, including the conspiracy-stalking Liberty Lobby, publishers of *Spotlight*, and sponsors of the neo-nativist (if not neo-Nazi) "Populist Party."

Lane is also coauthor of a book explaining a conspiracy behind the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. He is the longtime lawyer for James Earl Ray, King's accused assassin (like Mark David Chapman, Ray pleaded guilty and was never tried; he claims he was tricked into pleading the case by his pre-Lane legal team).

A memo recovered from Jonestown files showed that Jones and Lane considered smuggling a star King assassination witness to Jonestown (when the memo was discovered, Lane denied discussing the possibility). There are other bits of weirdness about Lane. Did he know about the danger to Leo Ryan, yet fail to warn the congressman? How did Lane escape the massacre?

Another bizarre footnote: There have been attempts to repopulate Jonestown. Not with blacks this time, but with Dominican and Indochinese refugees. Billy Graham's evangelical group was behind the repopulation program.

Jonestown was not the only "Jonestown." In Guyana, at the same time Jim Jones presided over what was either a cult or a government experiment, self-styled "Rabbi" David Hill lorded over "Hilltown." His eight thousand-member Nation of Israel cult made the People's Temple look puny. Hill had power outside his own domain. Some people in Guyana's capital called him the "vice prime minister."

The spookiest Jonestown doppelgänger was Chile's Colonia Dignidad. The 7,500-acre camp was home to a cult founded by German Paul Schaefer, and to the torture chambers of DINA, the Nazi-trained Chilean secret police. In fact, Colonia Dignidad, a slave-labor enterprise, was the concentration camp of Chile's fascist regime.

The American government running its own concentra-



tion camp at Jonestown—a brainwashing laboratory whose specimens spilled into public view. Unthinkable. No more unthinkable, though, than 913 people swallowing cyanide at the command of a lone madman.

One theory of Jonestown is that it was part of a “black genocide operation,” intended to be one of many such programs to entrap, enslave, and eventually kill off black people.

In the game of American power, blacks are consistent losers. Many of those black political leaders with the most potential to alter that situation have been cut down. No conspiracy theories required: Effective black politics has been decapitated by violence.

Malcolm X was assassinated just as he was beginning to moderate his views on separatism, just as he was coming in from the political fringe. Martin Luther King, Jr., who never ran for office, was capable of changing the American system, and he did. He bridged society’s gaps. When he was assassinated, he was beginning to preach about economic democracy that would unify the underprivileged of all races.

Civil rights leader Medgar Evers was also assassinated. King’s mother was shot to death just days after King’s widow stated that she believed a conspiracy killed her husband.

Huey Newton founded the Black Panther Party. Their violent public image to the contrary, the Black Panthers’ most important achievements were in promoting community self-determination. Their free breakfast program for black schoolchildren was a model, and they started a private school that offered the quality education unavailable to inner city blacks in public schools. Newton was shot in an altercation with police and jailed for allegedly killing a police officer (long since passé, Newton was murdered on an Oakland street in 1989). Another